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STUDIES IN CERVANTES

I. "PERSILES Y SIGISMUNDA"

I. INTRODUCTION

When, on September 9, 1616, but a few months after the death of Cervantes, el Maestro Josef de Valdivieso¹ penned the necessary *aprobacion* prefixed to the first edition of the *Persiles y Sigismunda*, he perhaps unconsciously gave to his opinion of the work a personal note which lends it a charm and value seldom or never found in the usually perfunctory official approval. The cheerful and buoyant spirit of the aged romancer was now no more, but he had left to posterity works which were destined to become thenceforward a part of the national life of Spain. Addressing his official approval to the king, Valdivieso says:

Por mandado de Vuessa Alteza, he visto el libro de los trabajos de Persiles de Miguel de Ceruantes Saauedra, illustre hijo de nuestra nacion, y padre illustre de tantos buenos hijos, con que dichosamente la enobleziò; no hallo en el cosa còtra nuestra Santa Fè Catolica, y buenas costumbres, antes muchas de honesta, y apazible recreacion, y por el se podria dezir, lo que san Geronimo de Origenes por el comentario sobre los Cantares: Cum in omnibus omnes, in hoc se ipsum superavit Origenes; pues de quantos nos dexò escritos, ninguno es mas ingenioso,

¹Also written Valdieselso; an account of his life and writings may be found in Ticknor's *History of Spanish Literature* (London, 1883), Vol. II, p. 331; the single volume which contains his dramatic works is very rare, but the Imperial Library at Vienna has a copy. The title reads: *Doce actos sacramentales y dos comedias divinas* por el Maestro Joseph de Valdivielso (Toledo, 1622). Cf. Schack, *Geschichte der dramatischen Litteratur und Kunst in Spanien* (Frankfurt, 1854), Vol. II, pp. 491, 497, 651, and *Obras de Francisco de Quevedo Villegas*, edited by Don A. Fernández-Guerra y Orbe (Madrid, 1876), Vol. II, p. 467.

mas culto, ni mas entretenido, en fin cisne de su buena vegez: casi entr los aprietos de la muerte cantò este parto de su venera(n)do ingenio.

To us, no doubt, this exaggerated appreciation has little value beyond that of a friendly tribute; after a lapse of three hundred years its praise finds no echo, for no work by Cervantes has been so thoroughly consigned to an oblivion which, according to most critics, would appear to be well deserved. Yet the verdict of the *aprobacion* was justified, for a time at least, by an unusual demand for the book immediately after its publication.¹ Within the same year of the first edition (1617) six others appeared,² and by 1629 ten editions had seen the light. Thus the *Persiles*

¹ A complete list of all the editions of the *Persiles* may be found in the *Bibliografía Crítica de las Obras de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*, por D. Leopoldo Rius (Madrid, 1895-1905; 3 vols.); cf. Vol. I, pp. 160 ff. The first edition was printed by Juan de la Cuesta, who had issued the *Don Quixote*. After that of 1629 there was no other until the eighteenth century, when eight new issues appeared. The romance, however, had been used by Francisco de Roxas Zorrilla in his comedia *Persiles y Sigismunda*, of which the earliest printed copy known is dated 1636 (cf. Barrera's catalogue, p. 685). In the nineteenth century there were twelve editions, of which one saw the light in New York (1827), and one in Paris (1835). Translations of the story were made almost immediately after its appearance (cf. Vol. I, p. 363, of Rius); two in French appeared in Paris, 1618, the first by François de Rosset, and the second by le Sieur D'Audiguier; and one in English, in London, 1619, by an unknown person. The title is of interest: "The Travels of Persiles and Sigismunda. A northern history: Wherein amongst the variable Fortunes of the Prince of Thule, and this Princesse of Frisland, are interlaced many witty discourses, morall, politicall, and delightfull. The first copie was written in Spanish; translated afterward into French; and now last into English. London. Printed by H. L. for M. L., etc., 1619." Upon this English version John Fletcher based his play, *The Custom of the Country*, one of the vilest ever put upon the stage. When Alex. Dyce edited it (Vol. IV, p. 385) in the *Works of Beaumont and Fletcher* (11 vols., London, 1844), he was unaware that Cervantes' *Persiles* was the source, though the fact had been pointed out as early as 1818 by F. W. V. Schmidt, in his *Beiträge zur Geschichte der romantischen Poesie* (Berlin), p. 180 (cf. p. 5, n. 3). Ticknor, Vol. II, p. 133, n. 2 (cf. p. 9, n. 2) mentions some of the ideas and episodes which were taken from Cervantes by Fletcher, making it clear, at the same time, that the indecency is all Fletcher's own. I am not aware that any thoroughgoing comparison of the romance with the play has yet been made. Leo Bahlens, "Spanische Quellen der dramatischen Litteratur, besonders Englands zu Shakespeares Zeit" (*Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte* [Berlin, 1893], Vol. VI, p. 155), repeats the gist of Ticknor's comparison. Cf. also Dunlop-Liebbrecht, *Geschichte der Prosadichtung*, pp. 278, 493, 511; also *Englische Studien*, Vol. IX, p. 24, No. 37, "On the Chronology of the Plays of Fletcher and Massinger" (Fleay), and A. W. Ward, *A History of English Dramatic Literature* (London, 1899), Vol. II, p. 722. Here Ward says that the actual origin of the play was first pointed out in 1875! Cf. also *Fraser's Magazine*, Vol. II, New Series, p. 392; Koeppel, *Quellen-Studien zu den Dramen Ben Jonson's, etc.* (Erlangen und Leipzig, 1895), p. 65; *The Works of Beaumont and Fletcher*, Variorum edition (London, 1904), Vol. I, p. 480.

A translation of the *Persiles* into Italian appeared in Venice in 1626. Various translations have followed since. The first edition of the *Persiles y Sigismunda* may be consulted in the Ticknor library in Boston and in Mr. Huntington's library in New York. The first English version is in the British Museum. In referring hereafter to the romance, I shall give the page according to the edition of Rivadeneyra, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Vol. I, *Obras de Miguel de Cervantes*.

² No. 346 of Rius' catalogue is considered a counterfeit; cf. also the catalogue of Ticknor's library, that of the British Museum, and that of Salvá, No. 1755.

saw almost as many issues within twelve years of its first appearance as Part I of *Don Quixote*, which was printed eleven times from 1605 to 1617. Master Valdivieso had unquestionably diagnosed his times well, recognizing the taste then in vogue among readers of romance; and the public, for its part, could do nothing but accept into the body of current literature a novel so thoroughly in keeping with it as the fanciful experiences of *Persiles* and *Sigismunda*. For in its imaginative and frequently irrational character this remarkable "Story of the North" was either on a par with, or far superior to, most of the tales which could have been found on the shelves of the *aficionados*. To realize that this is the truth, we need but examine not only such romances of a purely irrational type as the Pastoral novels, but also such tales as were meant ostensibly to reproduce the everyday life in the peninsula, namely the *Peregrino en su patria* or the *Novelas* by Lope, or the tales of Montalban incorporated in his *Para Todos*. That even the latter class are frequently a tissue of extravagances and impossibilities would be difficult to deny. As regards the popularity of the *Persiles*, however—whether justified or not will be seen later—there is some evidence, at least, that it was still a favorite book about the middle of the eighteenth century. There exists a valuable list of entertaining stories (made up by one Alonso de Padilla), of which a reprint was considered opportune. The *Persiles* stands among the first, and it is certain that a bookseller who knew his market would issue only books of which a profitable sale seemed assured.¹ Now, in 1728 an edition of the *Persiles* had already been printed by Alonso de (*sic*) Padilla in Madrid, which would indicate that the prospectus of forthcoming books had been compiled but a few years previous. The large demand for the romance must

¹ My copy of the list is printed in a volume entitled *Historias peregrinas y exemplares*, etc., por Don Gonzalo de Cespedes y Meneses (Madrid, 1733), and occupies two introductory leaves. The list is called: "Indice de libros entretenidos de Novelas, Patrañas, Cuentos, Historias, y Casos tragicos, para divertir la ociosidad, hecho por Don Pedro Joseph Alonso y Padilla, Librero de Camara de su Magestad, quien desea dar noticia a los Aficionados, y con el tiempo los irá reimprimiendo muchos de los que aqui van anotados, que no los ay, y muchos no tienen noticia de ellos por el trancurso de el tiempo." Then follows the list which was probably prefixed to all the books issued from Alonso y Padilla's press at about this time. Cf. also the prologue *al lector* of Lope de Vega's *Romacero Espiritual* (Madrid, 1720) (written by Alonso y Padilla); printed in Barrera's *Nueva Biografía de Lope de Vega*, p. 392.

have justified still another edition, for in 1734 the *Persiles* was published again in Barcelona. Moreover, in the important edition of *Don Quixote* published in London in 1738 (4 vols. printed by J. & R. Tonson), to which was prefixed the first scholarly life of Cervantes (dated 1737), by D. Gregorio Mayans y Siscar, the latter does not hesitate to give *Persiles y Sigismunda* the preference over *Don Quixote*. This is an eloquent testimony to the high position which the former held at the time.¹ As late as

¹ Cf. p. 101 of the *Vida de Cervantes*; seeing that this first important judgment passed upon the romance is inaccessible to most students, I quote from it the following, much of which has been so frequently repeated, but without any reference to the source: "Cervantes dijo, que su *Persiles y Sigismunda* se atrevia a competir con Heliodoro. La mayor alabanza que podemos darle, es decir, que es cierto. Los amores que refiere son castisimos, la fecundidad de la invencion maravillosa; en tanto grado, que pródigo su ingenio, excedió en la multitud de Episodios. Los sucesos son muchos i mui varios. En unos se descubre la imitacion de Heliodoro, i de otros, mui mejorada; en los demás campea la novedad. Todos están dispuestos con arte, i bien explicados, con circunstancias casi siempre verosimiles. Quanto mas se interna el Letor en esta Obra, tanto es mayor el gusto de leerla, siendo el Tercero i Quarto Libro mucho mejores que el Primero i Segundo. Los continuos trabajos llevados en paciencia acaban en descanso, sin máquina alguna: porque un hombre como Cervantes, sería milagro que acabasse con algun milagro, para manifestar la felicidad de su raro ingenio. En las descripciones excedió a Heliodoro. Las deste suelen ser sobrado frecuentes, i mui pomposas. Las de Cervantes a su tiempo, i mui naturales. Aventajóle tambien en el estilo; porque aunque el de Heliodoro es elegantisimo, es algo afectado, demasiado figurado, i mas Poetico de lo que permite la Prosa . . . Pero el de Cervantes es propio, proporcionadamente sublime, modestamente figurado, i templadamente Poetico en tal qual descripcion. En suma, esta Obra es de mayor invencion, artificio, i de estilo mas sublime que la de *Don Quijote de la Mancha*. Pero no ha tenido igual acetacion: porque la invencion de la Historia de Don Quijote es mas popular, i contiene Personas mas graciosas; i como son menos en numero, el Letor retiene mejor la memoria de las costumbres, hechos i caracteres de cada una. Fuera de esso el estilo es mas natural, i tanto mas descansado, quanto menos sublime." Cf. also Clemencin's edition of *Don Quixote* (Madrid, 1894), Vol. I, p. liv. The favorable opinion of Mayans y Siscar probably became known in England chiefly through *The Life and Exploits of . . . Don Quixote . . .* translated . . . by Charles Jarvis (London, 1742). Vol. I contains the life of Cervantes by Mayans y Siscar, translated by Ozell. Subsequent editions of Jarvis' translation, however, substituted another biography of Cervantes. The testimony of this upon the standing of the *Persiles* during the latter half of the eighteenth century is of interest. "[The *Persiles*] is a romance of the grave sort written after the manner of Heliodorus' *Ethiopics* with which Cervantes says it dared to vie. It is in such esteem with the Spaniards, that they generally prefer it to *Don Quixote*, which can only be owing to their not being sufficiently cured of their fondness for romance." (From ed. London, 1821, Vol. I, p. xlviii.) Smollett, in his translation, 1755 (cf. prefatory life of Cervantes), merely copies from the Spanish biography of Mayans y Siscar, when he speaks of the elegance of diction, entertaining incidents, and fecundity of invention to be noted in the *Persiles* (p. xxvi of *Life of Cervantes*, Vol. I, 2d ed., London, 1761). J. G. Lockhart, in the biography of Cervantes which he prefixed to his edition of Motteux's translation of *Don Quixote*, 1822, stands at the parting of the ways. What he says of the *Persiles* combines the appreciation of the eighteenth century with the indifference of the nineteenth. He says: "This performance [the *Persiles*] is an elegant and elaborate imitation of the style and manner of Heliodorus. It displays felicity of invention and power of description, and has always been considered as one of the purest specimens of Castilian writing; nevertheless, it has not preserved any very distinguished popularity nor been classed (except in regard to style) by any intelligent critic of more recent times with the best of Cervantes' works." (P. xxx of *Life*, Edin., 1879.) Coleridge, in a

1811 Sismondi felt justified in telling hearers of the lectures which he delivered at Geneva, that the Spaniards rated the story of *Persiles* as the equal of *Don Quixote*.¹ He unfortunately does not say from what evidence he reaches this conclusion, but it is not likely that the large number of the editions of the *Persiles* which were published during the eighteenth century was sufficient to account for such a view; Sismondi, no doubt, was familiar with the high regard in which the *Persiles* was held by several contemporary Spanish writers.² On the other hand, a search among German men of letters, especially such as were under the influence of the Romantic movement at the time, reveals an enthusiasm for the last work of Cervantes which, while limited to those in sympathy with the peculiar tenets of a school of fiction, was apparently unqualified.³

lecture on *Don Quixote* and Cervantes, says the latter "was the inventor of novels for the Spaniards, and in his *Persiles* and *Sigismunda* the English may find the germ of their *Robinson Crusoe*" (p. 274, Vol. IV, of Complete Works [New York, 1871]). It is too bad that Coleridge did not enlarge upon this rather vague assertion.

¹ "Le jugement des Espagnols place en effet ce roman à côté de *Don Quichotte*, au dessus de tout le reste de ce qu'a écrit Cervantes." (Printed in Vol. III, p. 419, of *De la littérature du midi de l'Europe*, par J. C. L. Simonde de Sismondi [Paris, 1813]).

² D. Vicente de los Ríos (1780) and D. Juan A. Pellicer (1797) say nothing worthy of note in the introductory matter to their respective editions of *Don Quixote*. In the prologue to Sancha's excellent edition of the *Persiles*, however (Madrid, 1802), may be found an expression of the opinion then current in Spain: "No son pocos los sabios, que, no obstante el notorio mérito de todas las obras del famoso Español Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, y sin embargo de los repetidos elogios prodigados principalmente á la Vida y Hechos de Don Quixote de la Mancha, que ha corrido siempre con la primera estimacion, dan la preferencia sobre todas ellas á los Trabajos de *Persiles y Sigismunda*," etc. Then the editor goes on to praise, as others had done, the excellence in style and plan of the work ("Prologo del Editor"). Sismondi must have known this edition. Only a few years later Navarrete, in his *Vida de Cervantes* which was prefixed to the Spanish Academy's fourth edition of *Don Quixote* (1819), says of the *Persiles*: "El [estilo] de este [Cervantes] es siempre propio con igualdad, y sublime con templanza y proporcion . . . De aqui resulta que esta obra de Cervantes sea de mayor invencion y artificio, y de estilo mas igual y elevado que el Quixote, pues corrigió en ella las faltas de lenguaje y construccion," etc. (p. 190). Thus it may be seen how writers who came after Mayans y Siscar did little more than adopt his view (cf. p. 4, n. 1), and even his words.

³ As an excellent example, the words of so noted a Spanish scholar as Fried. Wilh. Val. Schmidt may be cited; they might have been written by Aug. Wilh. or Fried. Schlegel: "Das letzte Werk des grossen Cervantes, *Los Trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*, scheint überall ungebürlich wenig bekannt. Und dennoch kennen wir keinen geistlichen Roman, der sich mit diesem vergleichen dürfte. Die himmlische Liebe, vermählt mit der zartesten irdischen, durch tausendfache Noth geläutert, immer wie der Karfunkel strahlend durch die Nacht der gemeinen Umgebung, endlich zum Schauen des langersehnten gelangend, das ist die Axe um welche herum die verschiedensten Erscheinungen des Lebens, Bestrebungen und Gesinnungen sich schwingen." Cf. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der romantischen Poesie*. (Berlin, 1818; [small] 8vo), p. 179. The interest which August W. Schlegel took in the *Persiles* was apparently limited chiefly to the romantic or poetic features of the novel, as

In the face of this highly commendatory attitude toward the *Persiles* in the past, what adequate, or even tentative, appreciation can we turn to in our own times? Could this creation by Cervantes have been treated with greater indifference if it had been turned out by some unremembered literary drudge? What correspondingly important productions by the world's truly great writers—even though they be classed among their "minor works"—have been so consistently laid upon the shelf by either literary critic and historian, or by the modern analytic scholar? In this connection it will be necessary to summarize the verdicts passed on *Persiles y Sigismunda* during the nineteenth century, inadequate and repetitional though they be.

The first criticism worthy of consideration is naturally that of the German scholar, Friedrich Bouterwek, whose history of Spanish literature¹ is the earliest systematic presentation of the subject in German.² Bouterwek's judgment is of interest because

can be inferred from the three translations which he made of two sonnets and an ode to be found therein (pp. 665, 633, 583 of the *Persiles*, which is the order in which Schlegel's translations are printed, p. 189, Vol. IV, of *Aug. Wilh. Schlegel's Sämmtliche Werke* [Leipzig, 1846]). An unimportant work by Edmund Dorer, entitled *Cervantes und seine Werke nach deutschen Urtheilen* (Leipzig, 1881), contains a collection of opinions expressed by German novelists, poets, and philosophers, whose verdicts are, for the most part, imbued with the spirit of the Romantic School of Germany, and are consequently highly appreciative of all of the writings of Cervantes. For, in accordance with the theories proclaimed by the school, he had become one of their standards of excellence in fiction. Many of the opinions have rather the interest of a novel point of view than the value of critical discrimination. But Dorer's book deserves to be cited, if only because it adduces further evidence that the *Persiles* was one of the hobbies of almost every one of the noted writers of the Romantic School. Among the most important opinions is that of Ludwig Tieck (p. 45), taken from his introduction to Dorothea Tieck's translation of the *Persiles* (Leipzig, 1837). He says: "Dieses bunte, seltsame Werk, Reiseabenteuer zweier Liebenden, ist wie eine Abzweigung jener prosaischen Ritterpoesie, oder jener steifen und unwahrscheinlichen Heldenromane anzusehen. Cervantes führt die wunderbare Geschichte in die vertrauliche Nähe seiner Leser; Spanien, das Vaterland, wird geschildert, berühmte Namen werden genannt und merkwürdige Begebenheiten angedeutet . . . Die Erfindung ist oft so seltsam, . . . dass es der launige Cervantes nicht unterlassen kann, sein Gedicht selbst ironisch zu betrachten und über die Unmöglichkeit der Begebenheit zu scherzen . . . Ton und Sprache sind höchst mannigfaltig, etc." From the pen of A. W. Schlegel there is a sonnet (p. 55) extolling the excellence of the *Persiles*, while the opinion of Friedr. Schlegel might be taken to voice the enthusiasm of the whole school (p. 60): "Es ist die späteste, fast zu reife, aber doch noch frisch und gewürzhaft duftende Frucht dieses lebenswürdigen Geistes [i. e. Cervantes] der noch im letzten Hauch Poesie und ewige Jugend athmete."

¹ *Geschichte der schönen Wissenschaften* (with subtitle), "Geschichte der spanischen und portugiesischen Poesie und Beredsamkeit." Von Fried. Bouterwek (1804). Being Vol. III of a work entitled: *Geschichte der Poesie und Beredsamkeit seit dem Ende des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen, 1801-19).

² Cf. Ferd. Wolf, *Studien zur Geschichte der spanischen und portugiesischen National-Litteratur* (Berlin, 1859), p. 1.

it contains in a nutshell practically all that has been said of the romance since his day. He regards the *Persiles* as "ein interessanter Nachtrag zu seinen [i. e., Cervantes'] übrigen Werken;" and he adds:

Sprache und Darstellung haben in diesem Roman besonders, bei der reinsten Simplicität, eine seltene Präcision und Politur. Aber die Idee eines solchen Romans war keiner neuen Ausführung werth. Cervantes wollte am Ende seiner glorreichen Laufbahn noch den Heliodor nachahmen.¹

Bouterwek sums up the work as a romantic description of fearful adventures with a sustained interest in the situations, but an absurd mixture of the real and fabulous, while the last half, where the scene is Spain and Italy, does not harmonize with the spirit of the first.

To what extent Bouterwek was influenced by Mayans y Siscar and subsequent critics of the eighteenth century, when he commends especially the simplicity of composition as well as the excellence in style of the *Persiles*, cannot be determined, and is unimportant. But this criticism, such as it is, has constituted the chief, if not the only, praise which the work has met with since his day. In stating his opinion, however, that the idea of the romance was old and did not deserve to be reproduced in a new manner, that Cervantes had taken it into his head to imitate Heliodorus, Bouterwek made a most insufficient and misleading statement. He has become responsible for the sweeping generalities patterned after his own by other writers, by not making it clear that the *Persiles*, though it is but an old theme in a new form, has none the less the merits of an original creation, just as does a new play though it be based upon an old plot. As regards the imitation of Heliodorus, what follows later will show how few are the reminiscences of the Greek romance, especially in substance, when compared with the rest of the material gleaned from the storehouse of Cervantes' reading. The remainder of Bouterwek's judgment is fair and to the point, but, being unfavorable to the *Persiles*, it could not have made the book attractive to the ordinary reader.

¹ Bouterwek, p. 359; cf. also the English translation of Thomasina Ross, *History of Spanish Literature*, by Frederick Bouterwek (London, 1847), p. 252.

When in 1814 John C. Dunlop published his *History of Prose Fiction*,¹ he appears to have been unaware of any relation between Heliodorus and Cervantes. The omission is, however, supplied by Felix Liebrecht, who translated Dunlop's work into German with the addition of numerous valuable notes.² The former saw fit, nevertheless, to repeat merely the unqualified statement that the *Persiles* is an imitation of Heliodorus, which he took, perhaps, as much from Ticknor as from Bouterwek. In 1822 the same idea had emanated from the pen of the noted Calderon scholar, Friederich W. V. Schmidt, which is all the more remarkable since he was an enthusiastic admirer of the *Persiles*, and must have recognized in it something more than a mere imitation of Heliodorus. Whereas we have extravagant praise in his *Beiträge* referred to above (p. 5, n. 3), we are now told merely that "die berühmteste Nachahmung [des Heliodor] bei den Spaniern ist die nordische Geschichte *Persiles und Sigismunda* von Cervantes."³ In 1857 Schmidt's early studies on Calderon's plays were incorporated in his important work on that poet, so we have the same idea unchanged, after a lapse of thirty-five years.⁴

¹ This work, of the utmost importance for a study of the genre to which the *Persiles* belongs, was entitled: *The History of Fiction: Being a Critical Account of the Most Celebrated Prose Works of Fiction from the Earliest Greek Romances to the Novels of the Present Day* (Edinburgh, 1814; 3 vols., 8vo; 4th Engl. ed., 2 vols., London, 1888, from which I shall quote from time to time).

² The title reads: *J. Dunlop's Geschichte der Prosadichtungen oder Geschichte der Romane, Novellen, Märchen . . . aus dem Englischen übertragen . . . vermehrt . . . mit Anmerkungen versehen* (Berlin, 1851; cf. pp. 458 and 511). Liebrecht's notes were incorporated into the fourth English edition. The remark referred to is on p. 404, Vol. II, n. 3, of latter work. Erwin Rohde, in his excellent work, *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer* (2d ed., Leipzig, 1900), cites Liebrecht's note without comment (p. 472, n. 1). In the English edition of Dunlop's work the *Persiles* is called by the peculiar title of *The Sorrows of Persiles and Sigismunda*, and in German *Die Leidensgeschichte des Persiles und der Sigismunda*, a title which Liebrecht may have taken from Dorothea Tieck's translation called *Die Leiden des Persiles und der Sigismunda* (cf. p. 5, n. 3). A better rendition of *Trabajos* would be "Wanderings," since the plural *Trabajos* is used in this connection to signify the hardships of adventure.

³ *Wiener Jahrbücher der Litteratur*, Vol. XVIII, 1822. Cf. *Anzeige-Blatt für Wissenschaft und Kunst*, No. XVIII, p. 8.

⁴ *Die Schauspiele Calderon's dargestellt und erläutert von Fried. Wilh. Val. Schmidt* (Elberfeld, 1857), p. 290. Even Gervinus, in his *Geschichte der poetischen National-Litteratur der Deutschen* (2d ed., Leipzig, 1840), left the opinion of his predecessors unchallenged. He says (Vol. I, p. 263): "Es ist aber zu vermuthen, dass, wie später Tasso den Heliodor benutzte, wie den italienischen und spanischen Schäferdichtern Longus vorschwebt, wie Cervantes' erster Roman [i. e., *Persiles y Sigismunda*] den ganzen Zuschnitt der griechischen Romane trägt, so auch in früherer Zeit vielerlei Griechisches in die neue romanische Poesie Eingang gefunden haben mag." This view was modified in the fifth edition, entitled

I have dwelt thus far only upon the appreciation which the *Persiles* met in Germany, where scientific research and scholarly criticism in the field of Spanish made practically the only progress achieved during the first half of the nineteenth century.¹ We come now to the judgment passed upon the *Persiles* by George Ticknor, which is the most important of all, inasmuch as it has been unhesitatingly accepted and repeated up to the present time.² Ticknor's criticism is, as usual, a thoroughly independent one, and will to a large extent—at least, where common-sense or what is rational forms the only criterion—remain irrefutable. But while, generally speaking, it is impossible for a historian who covers a nation's whole literature to do justice to every important work, it will also be admitted, in the particular case of Ticknor, that, great as is his history as a whole, he was temperamentally less fitted to judge some works than he was others. Among those which suffered in his clear, unemotional treatment we must place the *Persiles*; whose importance lies in the fact that it is a characteristic production of its epoch, a creation not only typical of Spanish temperament, but one indispensable in any final word on the genius of Cervantes. This neither Ticknor nor any critic who followed him has duly recognized.

Ticknor begins by saying that the purpose of Cervantes seems to have been to write a serious novel when he undertook the *Per-*

Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung, Vol. III (Leipzig, 1872), p. 206: "In *Persiles und Sigismunda* ging er [Cervantes] bis auf die Quelle der ersten Ritterdichtungen zurück, auf den alexandrinischen Roman, schildert uns gleichsam zur Erkenntniss den Typus dieser ganzen Literatur, in dem er uns ein liebendes Paar, das durch ein stetiges Gefühl aneinander geknüpft ist, von dem wunderlichsten Wechsel der Dinge ergriffen und als Spielball einer günstigen Göttin, *Fortuna*, zeigt." The latter idea is important and will be considered in connection with Cervantes' theory of fiction. O. L. B. Wolff, *Allgemeine Geschichte des Romans* (Jena; 2d ed. 1850, p. 119), adds nothing to our knowledge. J. L. Klein, *Geschichte des spanischen Dramas* (Vol. IX of *Geschichte des Dramas*; Leipzig, 1872; p. 274), sees no saving qualities whatsoever in the *Persiles*.

¹ To be convinced of the interest and activity in behalf of Spanish literature in Germany at this time, one need but consult the notes in Ferd. Wolf's work on Spanish and Portuguese literature (1859), or such works as Schack's history of the Spanish drama, or Lemcke's *Handbuch der spanischen Litteratur*; and as regards the interest taken in Cervantes alone, the long list of translations as well as of editions in the original Spanish printed in Germany (given by Rius, *Bibliografía*, Vol. I) is an ample testimony.

² *History of Spanish Literature*, by George Ticknor (3 vols.; London, 1863), Vol. II, pp. 133 ff. The edition from which I quote differs but little from the German version of Julius, or the Spanish edition by Gayangos. Ticknor himself said, referring to all the scholars who completed his work: "From the results of their labors, carefully prosecuted . . . I have taken . . . everything that, as it has seemed to me, could add value, interest, or completeness to the present revised edition." (Preface, p. x.)

siles, and then he casts about to see what models Cervantes could have found for serious romantic fiction. All that the latter says, however, is that he hopes to produce an excellent *libro de entretenimiento*,¹ and nothing could have been farther from his thoughts than Ticknor's "serious"—that is, "modern"—conception of fiction. What Cervantes meant to produce was simply a tale of adventure extended beyond the ordinary length of the current *novela*. That this is all he implied can be seen from the common meaning of *entretenimiento* in his day. Near the beginning of the *novela*,² *Las fortunas de Diana*, written shortly after the death of Cervantes, Lope de Vega tells of his hesitancy in undertaking this genre in literature, which he had left untried up to that time, and which seemed to him more at home in Italy and France than in Spain. He admits the success of Cervantes in this field, and then adds:

Confieso que son libros de grande entretenimiento, y que podrian ser ejemplares, como algunas de las historias de Bandelo. . . . Y habiendo hallado tantas invenciones para mil comedias . . . servirè a vuestra merced con esta.

This, however, was addressed to his mistress, who was probably not expecting any serious psychological treatment in a tale written for her pleasure and entertainment. Moreover, the large majority of the reading public, especially the women, considered a book of fiction as a pleasant means of passing an hour of leisure, and not even a limited circle of the educated classes was trained to look upon a *novela* or a *comedia* as an accurate reproduction of society and its environment. All that the public demanded of a *libro de entretenimiento* is voiced in the desire so often expressed, namely, that the events described therein be *verosimiles* or credible. Characters and sentiments were not subjected to scrutiny, provided they were pleasing or amusing. Therefore, even such produc-

¹ Cf. "Dedicatoria al Conde de Lemos," *Don Quixote*, Part II. "Con esto me despido, ofreciendo a V. Ex. los Trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda, libro a quien daré fin dentro de quatro meses, Deo volente; el qual ha de ser, o el mas malo, o el mejor que en nuestra lengua se haya compuesto: quiero dezir de *los de entretenimiento*; y digo que me arrepiento de auer dicho el mas malo, porque segun la opinion de mis amigos, ha de llegar al estremo de bondad possible."

² Printed in *La Filemena, con otras diversas Rimas, Prosas y Versos*, de Lope de Vega Carpio (Madrid, 1621); accessible in "Biblioteca de Autores Españoles" (Rivadeneyra), *obras no dramaticas de Lope de Vega* (Madrid, 1872), p. 1.

tions in Spanish literature as may be said to give a good picture of contemporary life must be carefully examined, if definite results regarding the customs and culture of the times are to be reached. This is especially true in the case of the theater of Cervantes' day. To be sure, the *comedia* is one of the most important sources that we have for the study of Spanish culture, but its value is frequently vitiated by the playwright's failure to differentiate sufficiently the spirit of fiction in comedy from that of the *novela*. In the latter, absence of psychological truthfulness and an excess of romantic or imaginative elements are pardonable and even logical; but the farther a *comedia* gets from that which is simply natural and actually representative, the less it can be used as a reliable document on contemporary life. The power of appreciating the distinctions between fact and fiction, however, is a matter of training, and playwrights were indifferent to them even when they were ostensibly walking upon the solid ground of history. Not infrequently do we find the claim of a *historia verdadera*¹ made for a *comedia* which, though drawn from a germ of truth lodged in some chronicle or popular ballad, is in its ultimate form, for the most part, an imaginary creation. Such being the spirit of every kind of fiction, a novelist would not feel tempted to look for "serious" models for his work; he would be guided by the spirit and practice of contemporary writers. It is therefore plain that Cervantes was merely in need of some framework which would enable him to draw out indefinitely the manner of the *novela*, and thereby create a book for general entertainment,² longer than the ordinary tale. That was all he could have intended to do. But Ticknor is troubled to find a guide for the *Persiles*, and all that he can hit upon is "the imaginary travels of Lucian, three or four Greek romances, and the romances of chivalry." I have been

¹ For a full discussion of the term *historia verdadera* in connection with the *comedia* cf. Max Krenkel, *Klassische Bühnendichtungen der Spanier*, Vol. III (Leipzig, 1887), pp. 21 ff.

² The term *libro de entretenimiento* or *libros entretenidos* (cf. p. 3, n. 1) had come to include all prose creations of fiction, just as the term *comedia* included both tragedy and comedy. It was applied to trifles like *patrañas*, and *diálogos* (cf. those *de apacible entretenimiento*, by Gaspar Lucas Hidalgo), as well as to a long history like that of *Persiles* (the *aprobacion* of the Spanish version of Tatiüs [cf. p. 14, n. 1] says it was worthy of being printed "para apacible entretenimiento y exemplo de artificiosas y utiles ficciones"). Or we find it replaced by *pasatiempo and recreo* (cf. *El Patrañuelo*, by Timoneda, *epistola al amantísimo lector*), or by *apacible recreacion*, as in Valdivieso's *aprobacion*, cited above.

able to discover no evidence from the *Persiles* itself that Cervantes ever saw Lucian's *True History*. Moreover, it would be a difficult task to prove either from his life or his writings that he could read Greek—or had the time to do it. I hope to show in what follows later that the knowledge which he had of Latin authors could have been obtained through the medium of translations; and I see no reason to believe that he could read French. On the other hand, both his long sojourn in Italy as well as the testimony derived from his works justify the conclusion that he was thoroughly acquainted with Italian.¹ I have been unable to find any mention of a complete Spanish translation of Lucian² printed within the lifetime of Cervantes, but at least seven editions in Italian appeared in the first half of the sixteenth century.³ One of the latter he could therefore have seen during his sojourn in Italy. But the idea of Ticknor is at bottom somewhat illogical. The *True History* of Lucian is a wild extravaganza,⁴ a satire on previous books of travel; and, notwithstanding this fact, Cervantes, who had planned a "serious romance," according to Ticknor, is supposed to have had it among the few books which served as a guide for the *Persiles*. Lucian may therefore be dismissed without further thought.

The influence "of three or four Greek romances," as Ticknor rather vaguely puts it, is, on the other hand, worthy of the most careful consideration. In the absence of any specific names, we

¹ It is possible that Cervantes knew the works of Teofilo Folengo (1491-1544), which may have suggested to him the origin of Don Quixote's madness. The first impulse to write his great work would thus have come from Italy. Cf. B. Zumbini, *Studi di Letteratura Italiana* (Firenze, 1894), p. 165.

² Salvá's catalogue No. 1879 mentions a *Historia verdadera de Luziano traduzida de Griego en lengua Castellana* (Argentina, 1551); but this contains only Book I. Lucian's *Dialogues*, however, appeared in Spanish in 1550 (anonymously), and again in 1621, translated by Franc. de Herrera Maldonado. Both are mentioned by Salvá (Nos. 3934, 3935 of his catalogue), and by Graesse, *Trésor de livres rares et précieux* (Dresden, 1863; under *Lucian*, Vol. IV, p. 277). Lucian's works were first translated into French in 1583 (Paris); cf. Graesse; another edition, 1634 (Paris), is mentioned in Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, Vol. III, p. 507 (Hamburg, 1726).

³ Cf. Graesse, *Trésor de livres rares et précieux*.

⁴ It will be remembered that among the various experiences through which Lucian and his companions go in their travels, are shipwrecks upon islands where the rivers are of wine and the trees women from the waist upward; a trip to the moon, where they meet men carried by great vultures; a battle between the hosts of the Sun and the Moon, in which the soldiers from the Great Bear are mounted on fleas as large as elephants; a sojourn in the belly of a whale large enough to hold forests and great cities, etc. Cf. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman*, op. cit., pp. 204 ff.

may take it for granted that Ticknor meant Heliodorus, Achilles Tatius, and possibly Longus, or whoever was the author of the pastoral romance of *Daphnis and Chloë*. The atmosphere as well as the entire make-up of the last, however, are so different from those of the other two that it can more easily be disposed of first.¹ Whatever influence it exerted upon Spanish literature was most likely through the channel of the Italian pastoral, and then in an attenuated form; for, owing to the similarity of its nature to that of the eclogues of Theocritus and Virgil, its influence must at an early date have become indistinguishably fused with theirs. The *Daphnis and Chloë* has consequently nothing to do with the genre to which the *Persiles* belongs, and though it will be clear later that some influence was exerted upon the latter by the pastoral novel, such influence will be found to be only in the mannerism which distinguishes the Spanish prose pastoral of the Renaissance epoch. This leaves the works of Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius to be dealt with. I shall treat the question of Heliodorus at length in my next article, and shall consequently speak of Tatius first.

If the romance of the faithful loves of *Klitophon and Leucippe*, by Tatius, had been favored by fortune with a great translator like Amyot, as was the case with the *Theagenes and Charikleia* of Heliodorus, its influence upon literature during the Renaissance might have been as great as that of the latter novel. Two translations² of Tatius into French appeared within a few decades of the publication of Amyot's Heliodorus;³ but they must have made

¹The romance of *Daphnis and Chloë* was first translated into French in 1559 by Amyot, but it was not printed in Italian before 1643, according to numerous catalogues which I have consulted. It first appeared in a Spanish garb anonymously in our own times (1880), in a translation made by Juan Valera. It is not likely that Cervantes ever read the story. Noted Greek romances which were unknown in the seventeenth century are the romance of *Chaereus and Kallirrhoe*, by Chariton, first printed at Amsterdam in 1750; and that of *Habrokomes and Antheia*, by Xenophon the Ephesian, published in 1726 at London, following a translation into Italian also published there, 1723. (Cf. Dunlop, Vol. I, pp. 58 and 61; Graesse, *Trésor*; British Museum catalogue; and Rohde, *op. cit.*, pp. 517 ff., 409 ff. I have found no reason for touching upon the Byzantine imitations, such as the story of *Hysmine and Hysminias* by Eustathius, Rohde, pp. 556 ff.

²Fabricius (*Bibliotheca Graeca*, Vol. VI, p. 797) gives them the dates of 1568, 1575 (Paris).

³The first edition of Amyot's Heliodorus, with the title *Histoire Aethiopique d'Heliodorus traitant des loyales et pudiques amours de Théagènes et de Chariclée* appeared in 1547 (Paris; fol.).

comparatively far less impression, for I cannot find a record of any translation into Spanish¹ earlier than the seventeenth century. But Cervantes could have seen some Italian version, for during the latter half of the sixteenth century no less than six editions of Tattius appeared in that language.² The character of the latter tale, however, is so similar to that of Heliodorus that the influence of both becomes more or less identical in those elements of the *Persiles* where it may be noted, namely in the bare outline or framework of a story of adventure. In a few unimportant details it is possible that the history of *Klitophon and Leucippe* lurked in the memory of Cervantes, as will appear in another paper, but it cannot be definitely proven, that such was the case.

As regards the *Theagenes and Charikleia*, we have the statement of Cervantes himself that he was competing with Heliodorus when he wrote the *Persiles* and he had ample opportunity of becoming acquainted with the former romance in his own tongue, for up to the time of his death there is a record of at least four editions in Spanish.³ But in order that the nature and substance

¹ The list of Alonso de Padilla cited above (p. 3, n. 1) includes a novel, called *Los mas fieles amantes Leucipe y Clitofonte*. I cannot find any mention of it in the catalogues of rare books, but the prologue to Fernando de Mena's translation of Heliodorus (1787, Madrid) cites it in a footnote: "*Los mas fieles amantes, Leucipe y Clitofonte*: historia Griega por Achilles Tacio Alexandrino: Traducida, censurada y parte compuesta por D. Diego Agreda y Vargas, vecino y natural de la villa de Madrid, etc., En Madrid por Juan de la Cuesta, Año de 1617." The romance, which appeared in Venice 1552, with the title of *Historia de los amores de Clarea y Florisea y de los trabajos de Isea*, by Alonso Nuñez de Reinoso, has one or two episodes reminiscent of Tattius (cf. p. 17, n. 1); printed in *Bibl. de Aut. Esp.* (Rivadeneira), Vol. III, p. 431, "Novelistas anteriores á Cervantes," edited by D. Buenaventura C. Aribau (3d ed., Madrid, 1858).

² Graesse (cf. *supra*), Vol. I, p. 13, gives the dates 1546, 1550, 1598 for Italian versions, while the British Museum catalogue mentions four with the dates 1560, 1563, 1598, 1608.

³ The original romance Ἡλιοδώρου Λιθιοπικῆς ἱστορίας βιβλία δέκα was first printed in 1534 (4to Basileae, Hervag.), and translated into French in 1547, by Amyot (cf. p. 13, n. 3); then into Latin, 1552 (fol. Bas.). A Spanish version appeared at Antwerp in 1554; one in Italian at Venice in 1558; and one in English at London in 1587. Only the Spanish version concerns us here. Its title reads: "*Historia Ethiopica de Heliodoro trasladada de frances en vulgar Castellano por un secreto amigo de su patria y corregido segun el Griego por el mismo*, en Anvers 1554. En casa de Martin Nucio (12mo British Museum) (8vo Salvá)." It is an anonymous translation and not by F. de Mena, as is well proven by the *aprobacion and prologo* of a new translation which followed in 1587 with the title: "*La historia de los dos leales amantes Theagenes y Chariclea, trasladada agora de nuevo de Latin en romance por Fernando de Mena Vezino de Toledo, Alcalá de Henares* (Juan Gracian) 1587, 8vo." The *aprobacion* speaks of a previous translation by another author, while the prologue by Mena says that a translation of Heliodorus made from a French version had come into his hands, and that the numerous errors and suppressions to be noted therein justified the new version which was made from the Latin and then compared with the Greek. In spite of this testimony, the British Museum catalogue attributes the edition of 1554 to Mena, and Graesse (cf. his *Trésor* under "Heliod.") makes the same mistake. Nicolas Antonio confuses the

of the influence of Heliodorus on Cervantes may be perfectly clear when we are ready to take it up, it will be necessary to dwell at length on the latter's statement just mentioned. What did he mean, when in the prologue to his *Novelas exemplares*, he characterizes the *Persiles* as a *libro que se atreve á competir con Heliodoro*? Cervantes would undoubtedly have admitted that he had imitated the Greek writer, but what would he have meant by "imitation," and how does the term, when baldly applied to a story nowadays, differ in meaning from that given it in the lifetime of Cervantes? Upon this difference hinges my objection to the unqualified dicta uttered all through the nineteenth century, of which I have given specimens above.

There can be no doubt that the admission quoted from the prologue to the *novelas* has been the first and chief cause of all the generalities and vague opinions uttered about the *Persiles*, and yet Cervantes cannot be blamed for confessing to a *competition* or imitation in the sense in which he would have used the word. In the first place, it was employed by novelists to contrast with the term "to translate" (*romanzar* or *romancear*), though the latter did not, generally speaking, mean a close and faithful rendering of the original. Thus in the first *dedicatoria* to his *Historia de los amores de Clarea y Florisea y de los trabajos de Isea*,¹ Alonso Nuñez de Reinoso says that, having found in a certain bookstore a fragment of a Greek story, he was greatly taken with its lively and pleasing invention. "Por lo cual," he adds "acordè de, *imitando y no romanzando*, escrebir esta mi obra;" that is, his intention was to be original and not to copy his model; and as a further testimony to the fact that he is standing on his own feet he says, "no uso mas que de la *invencion*, y algunas palabras de aquellos razonamientos" (i. e., of the fragmentary book he had

two translations (*Biblioteca*, Nov., 1783, Vol. I, p. 380), saying that Mena's version was made from the French and not from the Latin or the Greek. Owing to the growing demand for romantic novels of adventure, Mena's version was reprinted (1) Barcelona (Ger. Margarit), 1614 (Colophon 1615), 8vo; (2) Madrid (Alonso Martin), 1615, 8vo; and (3) Paris ("Vista y corregia por Cesar Oudin"), 1616, 12mo. In 1722 F. M. de Castillejo published a new translation (Madrid, 4to); and (4) in 1787 Mena's version was reprinted by A. de Sotos (Madrid, 2 vols., small 8vo). Of these versions, the last two are in the Ticknor library. The prologue to the edition of 1787 speaks of an anonymous translation published at Salamanca in 1581, 8vo, of which I have not seen mention elsewhere.

¹ Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 14, n. 3.

found). Consequently, such imitation, since it followed merely the *invencion* or framework of some other fiction, could in no way be considered open to censure. If, however, anyone should be unreasonable enough to blame such a procedure, the common practice of the age, as he goes on to say, would be found sufficient to justify it:

Cuanto en esta mi obra en prosa haber imitado à Ovidio en los libros de *Tristibus*, à Seneca en las tragedias, à aquellos razonamientos amorosos y à otros autores latinos, no tengo pena; porque no tuvieron mas privilegio los que hicieron lo mismo de lo que yo tengo, siendo ellos todos harto mas sabios e ingeniosos de lo que yo soy.¹

And just as Nuñez de Reinoso applies the word *invencion* in a very broad way to the skeleton or framework of a romance, so also does Lope² use it to designate the plot or outline of any one of the thousand *comedias* which he has invented. In the second place, in a more general sense, the word *imitar* as well as *invencion*, would imply merely an effort on the part of the novelist to produce another *libro de entretenimiento* for the idle reader, one similar in genre to its model. Thus, as the *Theagenes and Charikleia* belongs to the class of the *roman d'aventure*, so also does the *Persiles*. And the latter conception of imitation explains Cervantes' substitution of the word *competir* for *imitar*, since he was not imitating Heliodorus so much in substance as he was competing with him in popularity among the lovers of romance.³

The plea of originality would therefore be based largely upon the way in which the framework had been filled out with original material, with episodes and adventures newly imagined; at least, borrowed elements would have to assume a new garb—or some kind of effective disguise—before they could be placed to the credit of the man who reinvented them. Naturally enough, in most cases the reading public was not acquainted with the innumerable sources open to a writer of romances, and so the tendency to call that which was not exactly a translation an original story

¹ Second *dedicatoria*, p. 432.

² Cf. the passage in his *novela*, *Las fortunas de Diana*, cited above, p. 10, n. 2.

³ Pellicer, it seems to me, misunderstands the meaning of Cervantes entirely, when he calls *competir* a stronger word than *imitar*; he thinks of both in a modern sense, when he says: "ni el mismo Cervantes creyó desayrar su ingenio original, proponiéndose en su *Persiles* no solo imitar, sino competir con Heliodoro" (p. xxx of "discurso preliminar" to his edition of *Don Quirote* [Madrid, 1797]).

was no doubt frequently abused. But it is hazardous to apply our word "imitation" to these novels in too general and off-hand a way, lest the implied imitation be taken to mean a copy of its model throughout. Close study reveals the absorption of numerous ideas or episodes from various unacknowledged sources, and the inclination which critics have had in the past to hit upon some one writer, who represents the limit of their vision, and must therefore be made entirely responsible for the invention of the story, leads to woefully inadequate results, notably in the case of such a genre as that to which the *Persiles* belongs.¹ To say, therefore, that Cervantes imitated Heliodorus is to say little or nothing of significance. Besides, it must be remembered in this connection that the mention of Heliodorus was, in part at least, prompted by a certain literary affectation common in those times. It was the fashion to mention the source of your inspiration in the form of some worthy and popular writer, who, if he were an ancient one, would be a further testimony to your erudition.² But another and more urgent reason for "daring to compete with Heliodorus" will be given in my next paper. Before going further afield in this matter, it will be necessary to complete the study of Ticknor's appreciation, and that of some of those who came after him.

It may be remembered that, in planning his *Persiles*, Cervantes had, according to Ticknor, only Lucian, some Greek romances, and the romances of chivalry to guide him. The influence of the latter type remains to be considered, so that it may be clear with what qualifications the words of Ticknor can be accepted. If we look upon the romances of chivalry as a "serious" part of the

¹ Thus Dunlop (*supra*, Vol. II, p. 404) calls the above-mentioned romance of *Florizel (sic) Clareo and the Unfortunate Ysea* (p. 14, n. 1) a close imitation (in its first part) of the story by Tatius. This characterization will hardly hold, for the story is patterned after the novels of chivalry. In the same off-hand manner Ticknor (Vol. II, p. 134, n. 5) quotes Sainte-Beuve in part: "des naufrages, des déserts, des descentes par mer, et des ravissements, c'est donc toujours plus ou moins l'ancien roman d'Heliodore [celui de d'Urfé, le genre romanesque espagnol, celui des nouvelles de Cervantes]" (*Critiques et portraits littéraires* [Paris, 1839], p. 173); and then unjustly adds, "these words describe *more than half* of the *Persiles and Sigismunda*."

² This affectation, once common upon the title pages of many of the romances of chivalry, was hard to eradicate. Braunsfels says of it: "Die Romanschreiber wollten durch das Vorgeben ausländischer und meistens entlegener Quellen, ihren Dichtungen einen grösseren Anschein der Wahrheit und mehr Autorität verleihen" (*Kritischer Versuch über den Roman Amadis von Gallien* [Leipzig, 1876], p. 83). (Cf. also "Biblioteca de Autores Españoles," *Libros de Caballerías*, edited by Gayangos [Madrid, 1857], "Catálogo," pp. lxiii ff.)

genre of adventure, as models capable of suggesting possible events in a world supposedly contemporary with the reader, and believe that they were taken seriously by Cervantes, we may follow Ticknor's suggestion and put them into the same type with the *Persiles*. But it is not likely that Cervantes would have been pleased to see his *libro de entretenimiento* classed with books which were almost wholly a tissue of extravagant and impossible adventures. For, whatever modicum of truth there may be in the criticism made in some quarters,¹ that *Persiles* vies with *Amadis* in strange and fantastical experiences, it may, nevertheless, be said that Cervantes generally strove to remain within the bounds of what to him seemed perfectly possible. Occasionally, where he has accepted a legend or incorporated a miraculous event,² he does so apologetically. Much of what to us seems so impossible in his *Persiles* can be accounted for if we take into consideration the absolute ignorance of the times in matters of climate, geography, plant and animal distribution, and finally of the customs which prevailed among distant and scarcely heard-of peoples. The age of discovery was now in full swing, and Europe was constantly thrilled by the unsubstantiated reports on the one hand, or by extended printed narratives on the other, of wonderful events which had come to pass in some unknown parts of the world. Even among the sober historians their narrative has at times the style of romance.³ Unscrupulous travelers who returned home after years of wandering no doubt found willing ears for their biggest tales, and so Cervantes must unquestionably have taken the accounts about the northern countries which he describes in the *Persiles* from possible eyewitnesses without the necessary grain of salt.⁴ In what, then, could Cervantes' story of

¹ Cf. Schack, *Geschichte der dramatischen Litteratur und Kunst in Spanien* (Frankfurt, 1854), Vol. II, p. 29.

² Cf. the *werwolf* incident, chap. 8 of Book I, pp. 571 ff., and chap. 18, pp. 583 ff. and the episode of the capsized boat, chap. 2 of Book II, pp. 591 ff. I shall speak of Cervantes' apparent amusement over the extravagant possibilities of his romance, when I treat of his conception of fiction.

³ Cf. Garcilasso de la Vega, *Historia de la Florida* (1605), which is a history of the conquest of Florida written in the spirit of a romance of chivalry, or a story of Moorish conquest.

⁴ The increase in commercial relations between southern Europe and the countries of the far North was a steady one after the rise of the mercantile class in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; in addition to the information brought home by merchants, how-

adventure have been influenced by the romances of chivalry? Perhaps here and there his way of stringing together adventures was prompted by his remembrance of the many tales which he had read years before. While, therefore, the mannerism of the latter may have left a trace, nevertheless of the spirit and principles of the age of chivalry there is nowhere the slightest sign. The chaste love and lofty ideals which characterize Cervantes' hero and heroine are part of the *invencion* taken over from the Greek romance; inasmuch as they form the principles upon which the *Persiles* was founded, they could not be greatly modified, no matter how far the romance deviated from the prototype which inspired it. But in spite of the wide breach which separates the romances of chivalry from the *Persiles*, we must not lose sight of the continuity which characterizes the transmission of the *roman d'aventure* from ancient times through the Middle Ages to the Renaissance. The *Persiles* is a descendant—in a greatly modified form—of a type which flourished intermittently in Byzantine literature (inspired by the Greek romances), in mediæval French literature (where we find the loves and adventures of devoted couples described, as in *Floire et Blanchefleur*, *Aucassin et Nicolette*, *Parténopeus de Blois*, etc.),¹ and in the offspring of the latter class, the romance of chivalry, which flourished notably in Spain. While, then, it is logical to place the *Persiles* in the genre of adventure after the stories of *Amadis*, nevertheless it must be remembered, in the first place, that Cervantes' novel stands without the pale of any direct influence from the romances of chivalry, as these were no longer in keeping with the spirit of the Renaissance; second, that it was subject to the influence of the contemporary love-story, affected in its turn by the Italian *novella* and the revived Greek romance; and, third, to the correcting influence of contemporary realism reflected from the rogue-story. If, therefore, a comparison between the romances

ever, other sources of knowledge were the foreign pilgrims who visited Spanish shrines, or the soldiers who returned from campaigns in distant lands. Cf. Gabriel Marcel, "Les origines de la carte d'Espagne," *Revue hispanique*, Vol. VI, p. 164; Konrad Häbler, *Die wirtschaftliche Blüthe Spaniens im sechzehnten Jahrhundert und ihr Verfall* (Berlin, 1888), chap. 4, "Industrie und Handel;" H. F. Helmolt, *History of the World*, Vol. VII, Part I, Western Europe, chap. 1 (New York, 1902).

¹ Cf. Gaston Paris, "Le roman d'aventure," *Cosmopolis*, September, 1898, pp. 760 ff.; as well as, *La littérature française au moyen âge* (Paris, 1890), pp. 81 ff.

of chivalry and the *Persiles* is admissible, it is so only because both are loosely constructed stories of adventure; and even then the comparison holds only with the first half of the *Persiles*, which has an imaginary world as a background, while the second part moves entirely among known customs and peoples. As regards occasional episodes, an examination of all the books of chivalry known to Cervantes would probably bring to light more resemblances than I have been able to find hitherto. But the tendency to detect these with frequency must be guarded against until substantiated by a more thorough investigation.

But there were other serious works which Ticknor overlooked, and with which Cervantes was acquainted as one is with all standard creations which form part of one's education and blood. First, there were the Greek and Latin classics; and if we examine the *Persiles*, we shall detect an occasional reminiscence from them, and among the first from the great Latin *roman d'aventure*, the *Æneid*. Herein also we have as the main theme manifold experience of travel by land and sea, a machinery of adventure in the germ, which had come down from Homer and which, by growing with the succeeding ages, had been incorporated in various guises into many a literary creation before the epoch of Cervantes.¹ The influence of the machinery of adventure, specifically emanating from the *Æneid*, had therefore grown to be a potent, even though frequently a rather indirect, factor in the long career of the *roman d'aventure*. In the case of the *Persiles*, however, the influence of the *Æneid* is marked, and quite direct, and will therefore be treated in a separate chapter. It is, of course, not likely that the theme of adventure would be exhausted by a writer of the Renaissance without ample reminiscences from other ancient works, and this will be shown to be the fact in a treatment of some of Cervantes' classical sources.

Apart from the classics, however, Cervantes could have found further suggestions for the make-up of a *libro de entretenimiento*

¹ In these earliest stories of adventure, such as the *Odyssey*, "Sinbad the Sailor" (probably of ancient Indian or Persian origin; cf. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman*, pp. 191 ff.), and the *Æneid*, the theme of love plays only an insignificant rôle compared with the action of the whole, into which it only enters from time to time. In the case of the *Æneid*, however, it is noteworthy that the occasional episodes in which love plays an important part leave the strongest impression, and they certainly affected the writers of the Renaissance most.

of the adventure type, among the novelists of his own people and century. There was, for instance, the *Peregrino en su patria*,¹ by Lope de Vega, published only some ten years before the *Persiles*, and belonging to the same kind of story, though of a lower degree in the quality of imagination betrayed. For it is also the history of a young couple who reach their goal only after numerous shipwrecks, miraculous escapes, and strange chance reunions. Indeed, Lope may have taken his theme from Heliodorus as well as Cervantes; only he did not say so, and consequently any possible similarity has been overlooked. In addition to the serious vein of the *Peregrino*, there was the lighter and more realistic rogue-story, notably the various parts of *Lazarillo de Tormes* and the *Guzman de Alfarache*, which represent a type of adventure story the spirit of which is reflected in no small part of the works of Cervantes. To what extent the adventure genre in Spanish was influenced by Moorish tales—which Cervantes must have known better than anyone else, owing to his long and forced sojourn in an oriental environment—is more difficult to determine; yet the Moors, not only of Africa, but those of Andalusia also, probably narrated stories of travel and adventure after the manner of "Sinbad's Voyages," and other tales incorporated into the *Arabian Nights*.² Moreover, the numerous contemporary histories about the various voyages of discovery are of value in a

¹ Cf. Groeber, *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie* (Strassburg, 1897), chapter by Baist, on *Spanish Literature*, p. 461, par. 62.

² That the close contact of oriental and Christian civilizations in Spain during many centuries was of enormous influence upon the latter, must be evident to everyone acquainted with Spain and her history. It is manifest even today, in many peculiarities of her social and family life that such was the case. In the field of fiction, however, the residue of Moorish influence is most difficult to determine, because of the complete lack of satisfactory documentary evidence. Most writers of authority are consequently agreed in believing in the communication of a large number of oriental stories through oral transmission, from earliest times through the Renaissance. Cf. Warton, *History of English Poetry*, ed. Hazlitt (London, 1871), Vol. II, p. 108; Schack, *Poesie und Kunst der Araber* (Stuttgart, 1877), Vol. II, chaps. 13 and 14; Aug. Müller, "Die Märchen 1001 Nacht," *Deutsche Rundschau*, Vol. LII (1887), p. 92; Gast. Paris, *La littérature française au moyen âge* (Paris, 1890), pp. 81, 111; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Estudios de crítica literaria*, 2a serie (Madrid, 1895), "Influencias semíticas," pp. 381 ff; Joseph Bédier, *Les fabliaux, étude de littérature populaire*, etc. (Paris, 1893), Introduction; on the versions of a single tale carried by Arabs into Spain and thence into France, Gaston Paris, *Romania*, Vol. XXVII, p. 325. The main difficulty, however, lies not only in establishing the character of the original germs of stories, but in finding the time as well as the channels of their transmission from one people to another. The ways by which oriental tales and bits of folklore could penetrate into Europe were many. Take, for example, the story of "Sinbad the Sailor." If we are to adopt Rohde's view (p. 20, n. 1), here is a tale which might have come from India through a Persian intermediary into

study of Cervantes' learning, and appear to have formed a part, small though it be, of the source which inspired the *Persiles*. Thus much then may be said in behalf of some additional guides, especially for the outline of the *Persiles*. As regards the large body of material which Cervantes gleaned from everywhere to fill out the framework of his story of adventure, its numerous sources will be discussed in due time.

Finally, the verdict of Ticknor can be summed up in a general disapprobation, qualified by a measure of praise for the astonishing imagination displayed by Cervantes in this romance of his old age, for an occasional graceful story, "amidst the multitude with which this wild work is crowded," and finally, as usual, for the careful finish of the style. When all is said and done, therefore, Ticknor hardly advances the study of the *Persiles* much beyond the position in which it was left by his predecessors. He mentions, with his customary sobriety, some of the apparent characteristics of the romance, but he fails to see that the *Persiles* is an inexhaustible source from which may be derived valuable biographical details, hints about the nature of Cervantes' travel experiences, his manifold reading, his final attitude on various subjects, either of a literary, political, or social nature—all of which is so indispensable in the study of his peculiar type of genius.

Since Ticknor's day nothing has been done which makes for a worthier appreciation of the *Persiles*.¹ If we were to select, among latter-day books on Cervantes, one read with some frequency, in the hope that it, at least, might present something

Greece, whence it would be easy to believe that the whole or a part could have been carried into Europe at various periods of the Middle Ages. It was also adopted into Arabic literature, and might have been communicated by the Arabs to their neighbors in southern Italy and Sicily, or to the Spaniards in the Peninsula. No early Spanish version, however, of either the *Arabian Nights* or Sinbad's travels has yet been discovered, while such works as I have been able to consult (mentioned in V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des œuvres arabes* [Liège, 1903], Vol. VII, pp. 1 ff.) say nothing satisfactory on this interesting question of Sinbad's travels and their influence in European literature. Cf. also Rohde, *op. cit.*, pp. 568, 578.

¹ To give an example of the persistence with which his opinions are copied by those who know nothing of Spanish at first hand, mention may be made of a study by Michael Oesterling, printed in Vol. XVIII of the *Litterarhistorische Forschungen*, herausg. von Schick und Waldberg (Berlin, 1901). In this uncritical work, entitled "Heliodor und seine Bedeutung für die Litteratur," a few pages are devoted to the Spanish side of the question (pp. 101 ff.), but without any originality whatsoever, for all that is said of the *Persiles* is taken almost verbatim from Ticknor and Bouterwek, or Wolff's *Geschichte des Romans*. H. Koerting, *Geschichte des französischen Romans im siebzehnten Jahrhundert* (Oppeln und Leipzig, 1891), Vol. I, p. 25, says practically what Bouterwek had said. In the latest edition of his history

worthy of so important an effort as the *Persiles*, the biography of Cervantes by Henry Edward Watts would perhaps suggest itself first; for it is a work written by one who has devotedly given many years to the study and translation of the Spanish novelist. How does Watts view the *Persiles* after a lapse of three hundred years, in whose long perspective the romance has had the time to find its proper place? The biographer of Cervantes¹ begins with the uncritical statement that "of the works about which in his last days Cervantes showed so much anxiety, all but one have perished, probably without any great loss to the author's reputation." Without discussing the difference between reputation, or popularity—in which sense the word is used here—and ultimate position in literature, which is but the measure of immortality granted to the children of fame, one may ask how the latter can be duly meted out, and the true place of a great man be established, if we are willing to overlook such works of his as have had no sustained popularity. Watts continues: "written in Cervantes' old age, [the *Persiles*] bears on its face but too palpable traces of its birth. The only interest it has is a pathetic one, rather personal than literary." And yet no work of Cervantes shows a more vigorous gift of imagination; none, according to all critics, including Watts himself, displays a greater finish in style, and only the *Don Quixote* has an interest, specifically literary, of greater value than the *Persiles*. Or are we, indeed, to look upon it as the last "pathetic" performance of a doddering old man? We hear, furthermore, that "the story is in professed imitation of the *Theagenes and Charikleia*," and that "it is only just to say that it is equal to its model—quite as dull and tedious." We are told also that the book is a return to the style of artificial romance which Cervantes had exploded in the *Don Quixote*, since it deals

of Spanish literature in French (*Littérature espagnole*, par J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly; traduction de H-D. Davray; Paris, 1904) Mr. F.-K. says, speaking of the *Galatea*: "sauf peut-être dans le *Persiles* y *Sigismunda* Cervantes n'écrivit jamais avec un plus conscient effort vers la perfection" (p. 228); and of the *Persiles* he says: "cette œuvre de manière et de visées ambitieuses n'a pas réussi à intéresser malgré ses aventures et ses boutades," etc. (p. 249). Cf. also English edition (New York, 1898), pp. 219, 240.

¹ *Miguel de Cervantes: His Life and Works*, by Henry Edward Watts; a new edition, revised and enlarged (London: Ad. and Ch. Black, 1895), pp. 221 ff. The review of the book in the *Revue hispanique* for the same year is by Fitzmaurice-Kelly and, while just, is somewhat severe.

with a life that was never led, by people who could not exist,¹ and several other sweeping generalities, the modicum of the truth of which is concealed or distorted by a failure to see the virtues or the shortcomings of the *Persiles* in their proper relations with the age, as well as the genre of romance in the midst of which it grew. Watts closes by expressing his astonishment that this most insipid of Cervantes' works should have come from the same hand which wrote *Don Quixote*—a circumstance almost incredible, "had we not ample proof of the extraordinary range and diversity of his powers."

In view of the monotonous repetitions of the criticisms already given, it would be of no value to add to their generalities the opinions of various Spanish writers² whose uncritical enthusiasm for *Don Quixote* has left no room for any scholarly consideration of the literary importance of the *Persiles*. A résumé of what has been said and done to further an adequate appreciation of the last long work of Cervantes, tells us hardly more, therefore, than that it is at best an imitation of Heliodorus written in a polished style, while the most unfavorable verdict would seem to call it a gratuitous contribution to a type of romance which had long before seen its day. Consequently, to one who realizes the innumerable elements which must have contributed to the make-up of the mind of a Cervantes, it cannot but appear unusually strange that any knowledge whatsoever, which can aid us to understand the genius of the foremost of Spaniards, should have been so persistently disregarded.

RUDOLPH SCHEVILL

YALE UNIVERSITY

¹ Watts, for example, laughs at Cervantes for giving the name "Mauricio" (Maurice) to a family sprung "from an island in the neighborhood of Ibernía" (p. 577 of the *Persiles*). If we make due allowance, however, for a wholly fictitious romance, in which all characters go under an absurd nomenclature, Spanish as well as foreign, the name "Mauricio" is not bad for an Irishman. Cervantes, no doubt, had heard of James Fitzmaurice, among others of that name, Count Desmond's nephew, who perished (1579) in the Irish Rebellion in which Philip II of Spain played an important part. Cf. Hume, *Españoles é Ingleses en el siglo xvi* (Madrid and London, 1903), pp. 235 ff. Cf. also *Dictionary of National Biography* under "James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald;" incidentally it will become evident from this article how common the name "Maurice" was in that family.

² The latest life of Cervantes, the monstrous tome of D. Ramón L. Mafnez, *Cervantes y su época* (Jérez y Madrid, 1901-3; huge 4to), is a specimen of the more unfortunate type. This ponderous work is an *indigesta moles*, of little scientific value, in which authentic documents alternate with uncontrolled bursts of extravagant praise. Especially from Vol. III of the *Bibliografía crítica*, *op. cit.*, by Rius may be gathered how few and how unimportant are the criticisms and opinions which have been expressed on the *Persiles* during several centuries. Cf. especially pp. 64, 46, 59, 107, 140, 307, 382, 395.